Flashback

Journal of the Washington County Historical Society

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Odell, Arkansas, 1911
"Groceries, Hrdw," and a Post Office

Noah West, proprietor, stands in the doorway with wife Amanda (seated), surrounded by their children and their families.

Washington County Historical Society

118 East Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701
http://www.washcohistoricalsociety.org
(479) 521-2970
Office Manager: Kim Jones

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Preserving our past for future generations

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On the cover:
Noah West is framed in the doorway of his store at Odell. Seated in front of him is his wife Amanda Dipboye West. Surrounding them are their daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren. The star over the doorway designates a post office, and, above it, the sign reads: "Groceries and Hrdw Store." The photo was taken in 1911; it is provided courtesy of the Floyd Pitts family.

Solid People in Unstable Times: Tabitha and William Taylor of Fayetteville, Arkansas

2022 winner of the Lessie Stringfellow Read Prize in the WCHS 13th Annual Writing Competition

By Katrina Windon

Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor[1] was born into slavery in Kentucky, likely between 1847-1850.[2] William Taylor was born into slavery in North Carolina on August 25, 1845. At some point, despite the enslavers and institutions that deprived them of freedoms of movement and of choice for their childhoods and teenage years, the two met, fell in love, and began a lifetime commitment to each other. It is likely that Tabitha Marshbanks and William Taylor were both still enslaved when they migrated to Arkansas; state laws in place in the early 1860s would have made anything else illegal, as antebellum Arkansas politicians did everything they could to prevent the presence of free Blacks in the state. As historian Bobby L. Lovett has chronicled, "an 1843 law prohibited any more black settlers," followed by a "late 1850s Arkansas law [that] prohibited owners from manumitting their slaves," and the legislature later "required that after January 1, 1860, any remaining free blacks could be forced into slavery."[3]

One version of Taylor family history held that in the midst of the Civil War, William Taylor and Tabitha Marshbanks moved to Farmington, Arkansas, where Tabitha's daughter Susan (Susie) Marshbanks was born on August 6, 1862.[4] Only days thereafter, according to Susie Marshbanks Manuel's obituary, the young family moved to Fayetteville.[5] Tabitha Taylor's obituary suggested a different timeline, indicating that

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Katrina Windon is the Collections Management and Processing Unit Head at the University of Arkansas Special Collections. She has published articles in the Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies, Archival Issues, *and* Art Documentation.

she had moved from Kentucky to Arkansas only as a free woman, after the Civil War,[6] while a 1941 Lessie Stringfellow Read article noted that "Aunt Tabitha Taylor came to Arkansas as a child from Kentucky with her 'white folks' in the 1850s."[7] Taylor's great-granddaughter, Betty Hayes Davis, recounted that her great-grandparents had come to Farmington in 1860 or 1861.[8] Tabitha Marshbanks was certainly in Arkansas by 1862, however, as all four of her children were born in Arkansas, starting with Susie in 1862.[9]

Once a free woman, Tabitha Marshbanks worked as a household servant in Fayetteville. Her granddaughter Clara Hayes remembered that her grandmother and mother had worked for Lafayette Gregg (a prominent Fayetteville lawyer, and a Unionist) and his wife Mary, as well as for the Walker family (the head of which, David Walker, was also a prominent lawyer, but also a former enslaver and Secessionist).[10] This work falls into what scholar Jacqueline Jones has identified as the most common labor opportunities for Black women in cities and towns following the Civil War—"domestic services performed for nonfamily members for nominal pay," by which "[a] single woman could barely support a family of any size on her wages alone."[11] Yet this work, possibly in combination with a gift from one of her employers, gave Marshbanks the financial stability to make an investment in property that would provide a home for her and her descendants for generations to come. Great-granddaughter Betty Hayes Davis suggested that funds to purchase the property may have been received by Marshbanks from her former enslavers as what Davis deemed "mustering out money."[12]

On May 26, 1879, Tabitha Marshbanks, as a single woman, purchased a parcel of land at Lot 4, Block 22 of the Masonic Addition of Fayetteville from William Thorpe for $40, $19.75 of which was paid in cash; the rest was paid in full, with 10 percent interest, by December 23, 1885.[13] The 10 percent interest rate was the highest possible rate allowable under state law; while statewide rates had averaged about 10 percent in the 1860s, with rates sometimes climbing to over 20 percent in the early 1870s, the 1874 constitution set the limit at 10 percent.[14] William Thorpe, the seller, was a widowed white farmer; he had been born in Rutland, East Midlands, England, and emigrated to the United States, likely sometime after the birth of his eldest son, Edward, around 1866.[15] While Fayetteville's early Black residents (including William Taylor[16]) could and did buy property from white American-born men, it is perhaps not a coincidence that Tabitha Marshbanks' first and only independent property purchase was from a man who had never lived in a country practicing chattel slavery.[17]

Tabitha and William's marriage, at least in the eyes of the U.S. government, occurred on November 6, 1879, in Fayetteville, Arkansas,[18] although their great-granddaughter believed that the couple had considered themselves married before then, possibly as a result of an informal "jump-

Betty Hayes Davis (left), great-granddaughter of Tabitha and William Taylor, and her mother Clara Hayes (the Taylors' granddaughter) in the yard of the family home on Olive Street. Photo courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Betty L. Davis Collection (S-2015-71-50).

ing the broom" ceremony.[19] In 1866, Arkansas was one of the first former Confederate states to legally recognize slave marriages following the Civil War[20]; however, as legal scholar Katherine M. Franke found in her exploration of Reconstruction-era Black marriages, not all Black Americans saw the newly-available state-sanctioned marriage as the best option for themselves, and the Taylors would certainly not have been alone in waiting to formalize their marriage, if that was the case.[21] According to the 1910 census, William and Tabitha Taylor's marriage was the second marriage for each of them. This was also not unusual; historian Bobby L. Lovett notes that "[b]ecause slave family members and spouses had been separated and sold to different places (i.e., Arkansas) during domestic slave trade, nearly 25 percent of the black couples in Arkansas had previous marriages."[22]

Together the Taylors raised five children. Two of Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor's four children—Susie Marshbanks Manuel and Jennie Marshbanks McDonald—were likely from her first marriage or earlier relationships, while Lucy Taylor Sutton was from William Taylor's first marriage.[23] The Taylors had two children together, daughter Rebecca Taylor Roston and son George William Taylor. At the time of the 1880 census, William (age 35) and Tabitha Taylor (age 30) were living in east Fayetteville, Prairie Township, Washington County, with daughters Susan Marshbanks (15), Jennie (8), Lucy (7), and Rebecca (5), and son William (4). William Taylor's occupation was listed as "farmer," and Tabitha Taylor's as "keeping house."

The details of Tabitha Taylor's first marriage, and of her first husband, are unclear. A 25-year-old Tabitha Smith married a 35-year-old Rafe Marshbanks in Benton, Arkansas, on September 12, 1871; at the time of the 1870 census, a 32-year-old Ralph Marchbanks, a Black man working as a day laborer, was living in Benton; on March 1, 1866, a Tabitha Smith had entered into a Freedmen's Bureau labor contract in Pulaski County; Susie Marshbanks Manuel named her son Ralph. There is, however, no direct evidence to indicate that Tabitha Smith Marchbanks was the same individual as Tabitha Marshbanks Taylor, and the

family story passed down among Tabitha Taylor's descendants indicates that she was not. Susie Marshbanks Manuel's death certificate listed her parents' names as William Mars[h]bank and Tabitha Taylor.[24] Similarly, the specifics of William Taylor's first marriage are opaque. William Taylor's first wife may have been Phebe Taylor, who had been born in Tennessee and died in July 1879 at age 32 of "childbed fever" in Prairie Township,[25] and as of the 1870 census had been married to a William Taylor, a Black farmer born around 1849 in North Carolina, and living in Mars Hill Township, Washington County, Arkansas. In further support of this connection is the 1880 census, which indicated that Lucy Taylor's mother was born in Tennessee.

In Fayetteville, the Taylors and other Black residents would have had more opportunities for economic mobility than many rural Black Arkansans.

Historian John Williams Graves notes that "whereas attitudes in plantation districts discouraged individual mobility and advancement, those of the cities and towns fostered them. Old ties and family connections remained important, but the town merchant and urban booster praised enterprise, initiative, bustle, and ability, particularly the ability to raise capital and make money. In Arkansas, blacks who demonstrated these qualities sometimes won a genuine degree of respect, a respect that went well beyond the condescending paternalism of the ancien regime."[26] Moreover, up until the 1890s, Graves reports, "[t]ravelers in the state often mentioned interracial business and professional dealings," including white patrons visiting Black businesses.[27] These trends were both exemplified in the Taylors' lives when in 1884, they briefly entered the restaurant business. In September 1884, the *Fayetteville Democrat* announced that "Mrs. Wm. Taylor, one of our worthy colored women, wife of Esquire Taylor, at Gregg & Smith's, has opened a restaurant in the Gregg building, northwest corner of the square, where first-class meals will be served at 25 cents each. Mrs. Taylor is an excellent cook, keeps everything clean and nice and no pains will be spared to give customers entire satisfaction. Give her a call."[28] In October 1884, the *Fayetteville Democrat* advertised, "Fresh oysters will arrive at Taylor's restaurant, by express, next Saturday, and will be served in any style, cheap, Gregg building, northwest corner square."[29] In December 1884, the *Fayetteville Democrat* implied that management of the restaurant had shifted from Tabitha to William Taylor as it advertised, "If you want a good square meal, go to Taylor's restaurant. His table is supplied with the best the market affords. For a substantial, well cooked dinner, go to Taylor's restaurant North side the square in the Gregg building."[30] On Christmas day the paper advertised, "Just Received, A big lot of fresh oysters for Christmas week—Call at Taylor's restaurant," "Meals at all hours during Christmas week at Taylor's restaurant," and "Go to Taylor's restaurant for fresh and well prepared oysters."[31] The restaurant

was located not in the predominantly Black area of east Fayetteville where the Taylors lived, but directly on the Square, in the heart of Fayetteville's commercial district. It is unclear when the Taylors' restaurant closed, but by October 1885, M. V. Fierro was advertising that his Italian store was the only place in town for fresh oysters.[32] For most of William Taylor's professional career, beginning around 1873 and continuing until at least 1910, he worked as a porter at the Fayetteville drugstore first known as Gregg & Smith's, and later known as Smith & Williams.[33]

The Taylors were, like many Black Arkansans, members of the Methodist Church. Historian Bobby L. Lovett found that "[m]any former slaves preferred the Methodist religion because of fiery sermons and emotional appeals. Moreover, the Methodists' centralized governmental system gave the black churches a sense of order and dignity."[34] Tabitha and William Taylor were both active members of Fayetteville's St. James Methodist Episcopal Church, which had been founded sometime between 1861-1866 by Black residents.[35] At a regional level, Tabitha Taylor served as Methodist Episcopal Little Rock Conference's Vice President of the Woman's Home Missionary Society in 1900.[36] William Taylor served as a trustee of St. James in at least 1888 and 1898,[37] and served as the first Sunday School Superintendent once the church opened its new building in 1907.[38]

William Taylor was likely involved in local politics; a Will Taylor was among the alternate delegates selected by the Republicans of Prairie Township to attend the Washington County Convention in June 1886,[39] and a later 1886 notice in the *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat* announced that "Will Taylor (colored) is being spoken of as the darkey candidate for justice of the peace."[40] It is unclear if Taylor did run; regardless, the talks did not lead to him holding office, although another Black Washington County resident, Jack F. Johnson, had been elected as Prairie Township justice of the peace in 1884.[41] For a brief period during Reconstruction, a number of Black Arkansans were able to engage in political activity and service in ways that were obstructed again in the 1890s.

In addition to his civic roles in the church and politics, William Taylor was an active member of a Black fraternal organization, the Grand United Order of the Odd Fellows (GUOOF), which operated separately from the primarily-white Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF). Taylor's grandson-in-law, Charles Leonard Taylor, was also a GUOOF member.[42] Fayetteville had one lodge for each Odd Fellows organization: the Mountain Lodge No. 15 of the IOOF, and the Golden Heart Lodge No. 2134 of the GUOOF, which had its dispensation granted July 12, 1880.[43] On August 28, 1880, the *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat* reported that "[a] colored lodge of Odd Fellows was organized in this city this week with a membership of about twenty. On Thursday afternoon the lodge had a public parade in regalia, and made quite a creditable appearance."[44] Taylor's Golden Heart Lodge membership is referenced on his tombstone, indi-

cating its significance in his life; while many fraternal organizations of the time provided death benefits, including, sometimes, headstones; historian Blake Wintory has noted that it was not clear if the GUOOF provided headstones as a matter of routine in Arkansas,[45] and while William Taylor's will does reference "insurance in the Odd Fellows Lodge amounting to $250.00," it also requests that "a suitable monument be erected at my grave to be paid for by my Executor out of such money and personal property as I may have on hand at the time of my death, the same to be selected by my wife Tabitha Taylor and my daughter Lucy Taylor [...]."[46] Fraternal organizations played a key community and leadership-building role in Black communities at the time, as well as an additional opportunity for social gatherings; historian John Treat declared them "integral to the reformulation of racial identity" in the decades between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of World War I, when they offered "a place to learn politics during Reconstruction or to create alternative political community in the era of Jim Crow."[47] At the turn of the century, historian Story Matkin-Rawn found, Arkansas had, among its several Black fraternal organizations, the greatest concentration of GUOOF members in the country.[48]

An early August 1901 committee report to the Arkansas District Grand Lodge of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows on the state of the country noted:

> In the midst of this general prosperity, it is pleasing to note that the Freedman is making heroic efforts to keep abreast of the times. Imported to this country as chattel and consigned to an unlimited servitude, which he bore with incomparable patience until an over-ruling Providence broke the bondage; freed as the result of a great civil conflict between the States, he has with equal patience, zeal and determination, though under adverse circumstances, risen above his former condition and demonstrated his manhood and capability. Truly the progress he has made is without a parallel in the history of mankind, and we doubt not that, through the aid of Odd Fellowship will continue to improve in morals, intelligence, thrift, economy, wealth and all those virtues which tend to elevate and ennoble mankind.[49]

It was an optimistic outlook, and despite substantial social and political setbacks for Black Arkansans experienced with the end of Reconstruction and the rising influence of the "Redeemers" in the 1890s, optimism may, particularly for middle-class Black Americans like GUOOF member William Taylor and his family, have still seemed in order. Later in August 1901, however, the increasing racial violence in the United States would directly impact the Taylors and their family, dampening what appears to have previously been an upward post-war trajectory of increased prosperity and community engagement.

In 1885, the *Fayetteville Democrat* had reported that "Squire Taylor, chief porter at Gregg & Smith's drug store, attended the emancipation celebration at Pierce City on the 4th inst."[50]

Pierce City, Missouri, was on just the other end of first a stagecoach line, and, later, the Frisco Railroad from Fayetteville; at the turn of the century, it had a thriving Black community of around 200 people,[51] and Tabitha Taylor's sister, Sarah Godley, lived there with her family, providing further reason to visit. Godley's family also visited Northwest Arkansas; in June 1892, her son, William Peter (Pete) Hampton, held his wedding to Beedie Page in Fayetteville.[52]

In August 1901, Tabitha Taylor headed up to Pierce City for a three-week visit with her sister, Sarah Godley; she was also joined by another sister, Nettie Chism, and niece, Dinah Cawley, as well as Dinah Cawley's children, all of Paris, Texas. "This is the second time in twenty years that [the] three sisters have met, and there is quite a jollification over their reunion," the *Pierce City Daily Empire* reported on August 17th.[53] The following day, however, a young white woman named Gisela Wild was murdered in Pierce City, and the *Empire* switched from cheering on family reunions to inciting murder, declaring that "[n]o such crime should ever be let go unpunished, and every citizen should constitute himself an officer for the time being to help down the murderer. 'Vengeance is mine, sayeth the Lord,' yet in this instance the crime is such that every nick and corner of the city should be thoroughly searched, and when discovered no punishment is too bad."[54]

The white citizens of Pierce City, and of nearby towns, took this call to heart. On Monday, a mob pulled two suspects out of the Pierce City jail and lynched one, Will Godley, though there was no evidence he had any connection to the crime. The mob then proceeded to burn houses of Black residents, eventually arriving at the home of French and Sarah Godley, where Tabitha Taylor was staying. In the ensuing violence, Tabitha Taylor's brother-in-law, French Godley, and nephew, Peter Hampton, were both murdered by members of the mob, who then set the house on fire, causing a number of others inside to flee. By this point, the *Empire* reported, "[t]he mob was composed of probably a thousand men, and as they marched to the city jail the shooting sounded like a battle."[55] The surviving Black residents of Pierce City fled, nearly all of them within 24 hours, "for different points on the Frisco," according to the *Empire*, whose editors were far from sorry to see them go.[56] The three sisters' escapes each had a different destination, their planned three-week reunion having been limited to less than three days before ending in terror.

Sarah Godley, having lost her husband, son, and home, fled to Kansas City, Missouri, where she tried to use the civil courts to get some form of justice, and failed in the face of a white supremacist system.[57] The defense attorney, Pierce City lawyer Joe French, himself implicated as a member of the mob, suggested during the trial that not only had Sarah Godley lost

no income potential with the death of her elderly husband, but that she "'was better off by reason of his having been killed.'"[58]

Nettie Chism returned to Paris, Texas, where her husband, Fate Chism, was murdered less than a year later, for unreported motives.[59] Far from escaping racial violence, she was returning to a city in which, historian Brandon Jett noted, "white mobs in Paris lynched at least nine black men between 1890 and 1920," and that had pioneered "spectacle lynchings" in 1893.[60] Tabitha Taylor returned to Fayetteville without even her shoes. "Tabitha Taylor, wife of Squire Taylor who works at Smith's drug store [sic] in Fayetteville, was visiting her sister in Pierce City at the time" of the lynching, the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat* reported, "and narrates a frightful experience. The house of her brother-in-law was attacked by the mob and bullets flew as thick as hail. Her nephew, Pete Hampton, was shot through the heart and instantly killed, the house was set on fire and his body burned, together with everything it contained. Tobitha [sic] lost her trunk, clothing and a small sum of money and arrived home yesterday morning bare footed and thinly clad."[61]

Life in Fayetteville continued for the Taylors in ways that, in the public record, look unchanged.

William Taylor continued to work as a drugstore porter; they continued to live in the home they owned at 312 Olive; they continued to be active in the church, and, for William Taylor, in the Odd Fellows. Yet it seems likely that if they had felt a degree of security, it was fractured if not shattered. As historian Randy Findley summarized the climate in the 1890s—a truth that continued into the subsequent decades—"[t]he shadow of the noose and mob haunted Arkansans, the United States, and the world."[62] The men who murdered Tabitha Taylor's brother-in-law and nephew, and set the building where she was staying on fire, possibly with her in it, were never charged for their crimes.

William Taylor died October 5, 1912, in Fayetteville. His obituary noted that he "ha[d] been in declining health for two years but his death was a shock to his family as he had been up all the time and had attended the fair. He was a leader among the colored people and had the confidence and respect of the whites because he was an honest, hardworking negro, who attended to his own business."[63] Reflecting the level of community affection and admiration for Taylor, "[t]he funeral procession was an imposing one."[64] Taylor is buried in Fayetteville's Oaks Cemetery alongside other Black residents. Oaks Cemetery was founded in 1867, and at the time was the only cemetery in Fayetteville in which Black residents were allowed to be buried.[65] Taylor's daughter, Lucy Sutton, and stepdaughter, Susie Marshbanks Manuel, were also later buried there. A number of those buried there no longer have surviving grave markers; it is likely that Tabitha Taylor is also buried near her family members.

At the time of the 1920 census, Tabitha Taylor was still living at

Susie Marshbanks Manuel (daughter of the Taylors) on the porch of the home at 312 Olive Street. Photo courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Betty L. Davis Collection (S-2015-71-12).

312 Olive, now with her stepdaughter Lucy and grandson J. V. in a household with two boarders, K. J. Bird and Elizabeth Coggs, both Black public school teachers who were likely employed at the Henderson School, just half a block away from 312 Olive. At the time of the 1930 census, Tabitha Taylor was still living on Olive, but no longer heading the household she shared with stepdaughter Lucy J. Sutton and Lucy's husband Joe and son J.V.

312 Olive Street was located in a historically Black settlement in southeast Fayetteville. The 1941 *Arkansas: A Guide to the State* wrote of the area that "[t]he inhabitants, nearly all descendants of slaves owned by wealthy Fayetteville people, live around Lincoln School and two churches,"[66] with those churches being St. James United Methodist and St. James Baptist Church.[67] Photograph archivist Marie Demeroukas identified the neighborhood as "[e]ncompassing a small valley with a spring-fed creek just east of what was then the Washington County Courthouse, the community core included East Meadow, Center, Mountain, and Rock Streets along with South Willow and Washington Avenues," with its central landmarks being "the Mission School for Negroes Only (1866, renamed Henderson School in the 1890s), St. James Methodist Episcopal Church (1868), St. James Baptist Church (1885), and Lincoln Elementary School (1936), which replaced Henderson as the neighborhood school."[68] Betty Hayes Davis, who grew up across the street from her great-grandmother Tabitha Taylor, called her specific neighborhood on Olive "The Hill," as opposed to "The Hollow," where more Black families lived.[69] The Hollow was an area that was known by others in Fayetteville outside the community as "Tin Cup," and its existence was sometimes derided by the (white) local news; "Tin Cup Must Go," read the headline of a July 1908 *Fayetteville Democrat* article that went on to complain that "[t]his little valley is one of the prettiest spots in the city, but is now completely filled with negro huts."[70] In a move evocative of poll taxes and the myriad other ways white politicians in Jim Crow-era Arkansas disenfranchised and discriminated against Black residents, the *Democrat* reported that "[a]n ordinance requiring side walks [sic] there will be enough in most cases to force the negroes

to sell out, and once the start has been made the place will soon fill up with good residences and desirable citizens."[71]

Financial pressures, possibly due at least in part to the increasing tax burden, and to the loss of William Taylor's income in 1912, clearly had an impact on Tabitha Taylor; by 1915, there was a lien on her property for unpaid taxes.[72] Rather than fully sell out, however, she worked with family to find an alternate solution. The lot that Tabitha Taylor bought in 1879 had, through the decades, been subdivided and passed down among several friends and family members. In 1891, William and Tabitha Taylor sold a portion of the lot to Albert (A.M.) Byrnes, a prominent white Fayetteville builder (and supporter of St. James United Methodist Church) who William Taylor in his 1912 will named both his executor and his friend.[73] In 1902, Tabitha Taylor sold a lot for $1to Melissa J. McDonald, who may have been a relation of Tabitha Taylor's daughter, Jennie Marshbanks McDonald[74]; in 1915, she sold a lot to her grandson-in-law, C. L. Hayes, for $100 in an arrangement that included provisions to cover the unpaid taxes on the property.[75] In 1916, she sold a lot for $1 to her son-in-law, Joseph Manuel[76]; in 1927, she sold yet another lot to her grandson, Ralph Manuel, also for $1.[77] In 1941, Tabitha and William Taylor's granddaughter Clara Hayes was living in her grandmother's former home, which her husband C. L. Hayes had purchased in 1915, and was described in a Lessie Stringfellow Read profile of Hayes as "a picturesque old place on East Mountain and Olive street," an "1865 residence that has housed five generations of the same colored family."[78]

Tabitha Taylor died April 18, 1930, at what her obituary reported as the age of 82[79]; however, her great-granddaughter Betty Hayes Davis recounted that due to Taylor "[b]eing a slave, we never knew exactly how old—she felt she was older than the records show. But you must remember slaves were traded. If she were a child she might have been sold to another family not realizing how old she was. So we just had to guess her age."[80] Taylor's funeral was held at St. James Church, which she had attended since at or near its founding.[81] Among her surviving descendants were "[t]hree daughters, one son, five grandchildren, seven great-grandchildren, and three great-great-grandchildren,"[82] including granddaughter Clara Hayes, daughter Susie Manuel, and step-daughter Lucy Sutton, who offered their gratitude "to friends, both colored and white, here [Fayetteville] and in Bentonville, for kindnesses shown during Aunt Tibitha's [sic] illness, death and burial."[83] Her son Will came from Baltimore, Maryland, and her daughter Rebecca Roston came from Kansas City for the funeral. "Death of 'Aunt Tabitha' as she was known, removes another of the old time slaves leaving only about four in Fayetteville of the more elderly colored people," her obituary noted; "She came here from Kentucky soon after the Civil War. She had been bedfast for a year, suffering three strokes of paralysis."[84] A 1941 article profiling the Taylors' granddaughter, Clara Hayes, remembered Tabitha

Taylor as "one of Fayetteville's best known and best loved old-time slave mammies."[85] Great-granddaughter Betty Hayes Davis remembered her as "a gentle person,"[86] "a gentle, sweet, loving great-grandmother."[87] Davis never met her great-grandfather, but through her knowledge of her great-grandmother, as well as her own genealogical research, she was able to confidently declare to the rest of her family that "'You came from some solid people. Tabitha and William were solid people.'"[88]

Thanks and appreciation to Rachel Whitaker of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Myra Collins of the Washington County Archives, and the Interlibrary Loan staff of the University of Arkansas Libraries for their assistance during the research for this article.

Endnotes

[1]Tabitha Taylor is often referred to (in a census record, in a city directory, in a Methodist Episcopal Church minute book; in her daughter's obituary; in property records) as Tobitha; it is unclear whether this is an alternate spelling or a persistent misspelling of her name, and some records also spell it Tobiatha or Tibitha. Regardless of spelling, her great-granddaughter remembered that the pronunciation was "'tah-BYE-thuh'" (Demeroukas, Marie. "Notes from Conversation w/ Betty Hayes Davis (w/ some census info & notes pulled from other sources." 2012-2016). Betty Hayes Davis Collection X-File S-2015-71. Shiloh Museum of Ozark History). Similarly, Tabitha Taylor's last name from her first marriage, Marshbanks, is also alternately spelled as Marchbanks and Marshbank. Throughout this article, I have used "Tabitha" and "Marshbanks," as those are the name forms most commonly used by her descendants and in legal documents.

[2]Taylor died in April 1930 at what was listed as age 82, which would indicate a birth year of 1847 or 1848. Other sources imply a later birth date, including her November 1879 marriage license, which lists her age as 29 years old, implying she would have been born in 1849 or 1850. Her family members noted that due to the lack of records, her actual birthdate was unknown even by Taylor herself.

[3]Bobby L. Lovett, "African Americans, Civil War, and Aftermath in Arkansas." *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 54.3 (Autumn 1995); pp. 304-358. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40030945 page 307-308

[4]*Northwest Arkansas Times*, November 12, 1952; page 11.

[5]Ibid.

[6]*Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, May 1, 1930; page 8.

[7]Lessie Stringfellow Read, "What is Your Hobby?" *Northwest Arkansas Times*, July 15, 1941; p. 2.

[8]Marie Demeroukas, "Notes from a Conversation w/ Betty Hayes Davis," February 3, 2012. X-File S-2015-71, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History.; "Betty Davis Interview One Recorded April 2nd 2014." Interviewed by Corryn Hall. X-File S-2015-71, Shiloh Museum of Ozark History.

[9]Her 1892 marriage certificate listed her name as Jennie Marchbanks ("Missouri, County Marriage, Naturalization, and Court Records, 1800-1991," database with images, FamilySearch (https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:Q2Z3-2YWM : 18 September 2021), William McDonald and Jennie Marchbanks, June 25, 1892; citing Marriage, Jackson, Missouri, United States, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City; FHL microfilm 007515706. Page 296).

[10]Lessie Stringfellow Read, "What is Your Hobby?" *Northwest Arkansas Times*, July 15, 1941; p. 2.

[11] Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present*. (New York: Basic Books, 2010); p. 73.

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[29]*Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, October 23, 1884; p. 3.

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[31]*Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, December 25, 1884; p. 3.

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[35]A historical marker currently in place at the church lists 1861 as the founding date; other sources, such as Brent E. Riffel ("'A celebration of endurance': Fayetteville's St. James United Methodist Church," *Flashback* 55.4 (2005); pp. 159-178), suggest 1866.

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[85]Lessie Stringfellow Read, "What is Your Hobby?" *Northwest Arkansas Times*, July 15, 1941; p. 2.
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College Cemetery, 1880-1928

When the University of Arkansas Had a Campus Graveyard

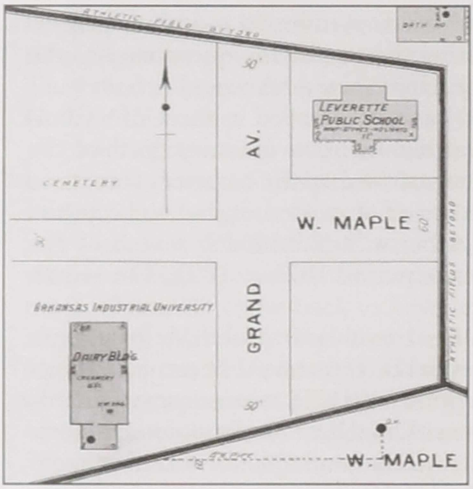
This article, reprinted from the August 1988 issue of Flashback, *refers to a story published in the journal in 1956.*

By Anthony J. Wappel

In November 1956, the Washington County Historical Society published a short article by "RG" in *Flashback* about College Cemetery. "College Cemetery: A Second Look" [Title of the 1988 article.] is based on the discoveries I made while serving as a records management intern for the Special Collections Department at the University of Arkansas. This February and March [1988] I spent several weeks inventorying and organizing a group of records from the President's Office deposited in the Special Collections Department in 1967. The records consisted of approximately 6 linear feet of annual reports and other correspondence to and from the President's Office from the 1870s to the 1940s. One box of records contained fire insurance papers from the 1930s.

As I attempted to put some order to the chaotic records, I discovered a plat illustrating lot E 35 in Fairview Cemetery. According to this plat, several UofA students were removed from the UofA Cemetery to Fairview Cemetery in January 1928. Being new to the Fayetteville area, I did not think much about this discovery because I assumed it was common knowledge among long time residents. However, during a coffee break I asked Ellen Shipley [Compton], our field archivist, if she knew about the college cemetery and found to both our amazement that the cemetery was unknown. From that moment on, my job changed from records management intern to detective.

Anthony J. Wappel is a former Special Collections Library Assistant, 1989-1994, former Archivist for Benton County, 1994-1997, and former Archivist for Washington County, 1997-2019.



This portion of "Map 12," taken from a series of 1908 maps of Fayetteville, shows a plat labeled "*CEMETERY*," at the corner of W. Maple and Grand Av. (likely Garland Avenue) adjacent to Arkansas Industrial University. The map was created by the Sanborn Map Company of New York and is from the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Sanborn Maps Division.

The discovery of the plat raised six interesting questions. One, where was the college cemetery located? Two, did it predate the university; if it did not, when did the university establish it? Three, why did the university establish the cemetery? Four, why weren't all the bodies of students who died sent home? Five, were all the people buried in the cemetery students? Six, why did the university remove the bodies to Fairview in 1928? I expected the University of Arkansas histories (Reynolds and Thomas, 1910; Hale, 1948; Leflar, 1972) to answer my first question on location. Unfortunately, none of them even alluded to a cemetery on campus. I then spoke with Professor Robert A. Leflar about the cemetery. He told me it existed on the northwest corner of Maple and Garland. A parking lot exists there now. Professor Leflar did not know how old it was but presumed the cemetery dated back to the 19th century. (He also noted that the experimental farm was on the lot next to the cemetery and one year an unsuccessful attempt was made to grow cotton.) I verified the location of the cemetery with a 1908 map of the City of Fayetteville. Also, a sketch of the university drawn by Professor George D. Purinton around 1887 illustrates the boundary of the cemetery. Some of the cemetery also existed where Maple Street extended westward from Garland.

The second question I had to answer was whether or not the cemetery pre-dated the university. I had hoped to take a shortcut by attempting to establish a date from obituaries of those persons listed on the plat. Helen Brannan, Naomi Horn, and Grace Keith at the Fayetteville Public Library were most helpful in this part of my research. Unfortunately, we were able to discover only five obituaries in the *Fayetteville Weekly*; the oldest one being of Evans Treadwell who died in 1888. I still did not know if the cemetery pre-dated the university.

My next hope was the Washington County Circuit Clerk's office. There, I analyzed deeds of the property on which the cemetery was located. All I discovered was that the property was owned in turn by George Freyschlag (1835), William McIlroy (1851), and Arkansas Industrial Uni-

versity (1871). None of the recorded deeds mentioned a cemetery. Ironically, the last hope I had for answering the rest of my questions was the original source of my discovery—the University Archives.

If Evans Treadwell died in 1888 and was buried in the UofA Cemetery, and if the recorded deeds did not mention a cemetery, then the logical conclusion is that the university established the cemetery sometime between 1871 and 1888. If any record of it existed, it had to be in the minutes of the Board of Trustees. I began a painstaking search of the beautifully handwritten minutes for the period 1871 to 1891. The search was not in vain.

The minutes vividly described the recently purchased McIlroy farm. There being no mention of a graveyard or cemetery, I became comfortable with the above hypothesis. The June 11, 1879, minutes answered my second question. On that date Trustee A.W. Dinsmore appointed a committee to prepare a site on university grounds suitable for a cemetery for university use. Furthermore, Trustee Dinsmore authorized the secretary of the Board of Trustees to issue a warrant to Professor O.C. Gray for the amount expended by him in burying indigent deceased students. The cemetery did not pre-date the university.

The June 12 and June 14, 1879, minutes answered my third question of why the cemetery was established. In his report to the Board of Trustees, President D.H. Hill sadly noted the deaths of six students during the 1878/1879 school year. Five students died from pneumonia; one from malarial fever. Five of the students were from southeast Arkansas. President Hill believed these students died because they could not adjust to the cooler climate of the mountainous northwestern part of the state. He refused to believe poor sanitary conditions at A.I.U. caused their deaths. On June 14, 1879, the Board of Trustees authorized $50 for the burial of deceased students. Apparently, the Board of Trustees decided to establish a cemetery so the University would have a place to bury their indigent dead.

In the June 8, 1880, minutes Trustees D.E. Jones, D.H. Hill, and Lafayette Gregg reported that they had found and prepared a site for a college cemetery. On June 10, 1880, the secretary of the board authorized the removal of the remains of students from Evergreen Cemetery. Apparently, the six students who died in 1878/1879 were buried in Evergreen and were reinterred in College Cemetery in 1880. This finding has resulted in an additional question. Why were the bodies removed from Evergreen Cemetery? There is no definitive answer. It is possible that A.I.U. decided it was their responsibility to take care of their own. Believing that the university was its own community, the Board of Trustees might have believed students buried in Evergreen Cemetery should be returned home—to the college campus where they died.

It is also difficult to answer my fourth question. Students probably were not sent home because they had to be buried quickly, or students'

families could not afford to have the remains shipped home by rail or carriage. Another point is that some of the students were from Fayetteville. They died at home; subsequently, as indigent students they were buried in College Cemetery.

My fifth question was answered by examining the roster of cemetery occupants. Some of the people buried in College Cemetery were neither students nor indigent. One doctor and one professor were buried in College Cemetery. Dr. S.M. Taff, a native of Scott County, moved to Fayetteville as a child. He practiced medicine in Saint Louis until he developed tuberculosis. He came back to Fayetteville where he died in 1901. As an alumnus of A.I.U. Dr. Taff may have requested that he be buried in College Cemetery. Professor A.T. Graber was a music professor. The Board of Trustees appointed him director in 1901. He died in 1902. The burial of these two people in College Cemetery lends additional support to the idea the cemetery helped represent A.I.U. as its own community.

The last known burial in College Cemetery took place in 1902 when Professor Graber died. Others may have been buried there until 1928. Several long time residents of Fayetteville have told me that all the bodies were not removed from the cemetery in 1928. Furthermore, the November 1956 issue of *Flashback* lists several persons buried in College Cemetery who are not listed on the plat of Lot E 35 of Fairview Cemetery. However, there is no documentation to prove that anyone is still buried on campus. Excepting the 14 burials in College Cemetery, exactly who else was buried in the cemetery and where they are buried today remains a mystery. What we know is that in 1928 the University of Arkansas removed the known graves to Fairview Cemetery. Although the university may have planned to build on the site of the cemetery, nothing except a baseball field, a tennis court, and the current parking lot have been built there. We also know that the extension of Maple Street to the west of Garland may have played an important role in the removal of graves.

The answer to the sixth question, why the University of Arkansas decided to close College Cemetery in 1928, cannot be definitely answered. Nevertheless, this second look into the history of College Cemetery reveals that the University of Arkansas believed it was its own community. In this date of impersonality, it is refreshing to note that the university was so comprehensively concerned about its own. Obviously, the University of Arkansas is much larger than it was in 1880 or even in 1928, so the amount of personal involvement that existed one hundred or sixty years ago may never be recaptured. To remind the student body, faculty, and staff that the University of Arkansas was and still can be a community of its own, it might be appropriate to set aside a few parking spaces at the corner of Garland and Maple for a historical marker dedicating the site not only to those students who died in the 19th century, but also to all students, faculty and staff who may have passed away while attending or serving the University of Arkansas.

Persons Buried in College Cemetery 1880-1928

Black, Robert F. - Preparatory student from Hampton, Calhoun County.
Died: April 9, 1893 of pneumonia.
Chambliss, T.D. - Preparatory student from LaPile, Union County.
Died: December 21, 1878 of pneumonia.
Finley, S.C. - Preparatory student from Helena, Phillips County.
Died: December 19, 1878 of pneumonia.
Graber, Professor A.T. - Music Director.
Died: 1902 of appendicitis.
Halley, R.H. - Freshman student from Waldron, Scott County.
Died: December 10, 1878 of pneumonia.
McNeil, Mabel. - Child of Professor J.F. McNeil.
Menard, J.L. - Sophomore student from Chester, Desha County.
Died: April 10, 1879 of swamp fever.
Mills, Nannie. - Preparatory student from Clarendon, Monroe County.
Died: November 1, 1889 of swamp fever.
Pearce, S.H. - Preparatory student from Magnolia, Columbia County.
Ragon, J.D. - Preparatory student from Morrison's Bluff, Logan County.
Died: January 23, 1880 of pneumonia.
Read, Emily. - Freshman student from Fayetteville, Washington County.
Refeld, L.L. - Preparatory student from Arkansas Post, Arkansas County.
Died: January 12, 1880 of pneumonia.
Sellers, J.F. - Preparatory student from North Creek, Phillips County.
Died: March 29, 1880 of pneumonia.
Slaton, Joseph M. - Preparatory student from Star City, Lincoln County.
Died: October 14, 1878 of malarial fever.
Smith, M.C. - Preparatory student from Farmerville, Lincoln Parish, Louisiana.
Snyder, W.E. - Preparatory student from Pine Bluff, Jefferson County.
Died: January 14, 1879 of pneumonia.
Stanford Nellie. - From Waldron, Scott County.
Died: September 19, 1895.
Taff, Dr. S.M. - A.I.U alumnus from Fayetteville, Washington County.
Died: May 22, 1901 of tuberculosis.
Thomason, Demmie. - Sophomore student from Fayetteville, Washington County.
Tolle, Adelia. - Preparatory student from Fayetteville, Washington County.
Died: November 18, 1897 of measles.
Treadwell, Evans. - Freshman student from Toledo, Cleveland County.
Died: August 31, 1888 of typhoid fever.
Treadwell, Mrs.
Waggoner, Mr.
Wainwright, John
Whithorne, J.D. - Preparation student from Carmel, Chicot County.

These persons are presumed to have been buried in College Cemetery. They are not listed on the plat of Lot E 35 of Fairview Cemetery. However, the November 1956 issue of *Flashback*, as well as President Hill's Report to the Board of Trustees in 1879 and 1880 lead me to believe they were buried in College Cemetery, also. Those who died in 1880 and before may have been buried in Evergreen Cemetery prior to creation of College Cemetery in 1880.

Eds. note: The piece of land at the corner of Maple and Garland referred to in this 1988 article as being a parking lot, is now the site of the UofA Pat Walker Health Center.

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Map of Fayetteville, 1908.
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Fairview Memorial Cemetery
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Flashback, November, 1956.

A WCHS Project: The Annotated Bibliography on Black Settlers of Washington County

By J.B. Hogan

In July 2014, the Washington County Historical Society Black Settlers Committee (now known as the Diverse Settlers Committee) was created and chaired by Dr. Margaret Clark, Professor Emeritus of the University of Arkansas and long-time member of the WCHS Board of Directors. Dr. Clark and the committee sought to create a bibliographic source of material about Black citizens and their history in Fayetteville and Washington County.

At that time, there were very few known bibliographic listings for Black history in our area. The committee worked to correct this oversight by creating not just a more thorough and accurate bibliography but an annotated one as well.

Working as a team, the group hired John Erwin to be the compiler and annotator of the bibliography. Committee members added articles, books, newspaper references, and audio and video recordings to the growing list. The bibliography was published in *Flashback*, Volume 65, Number 3, Fall 2015.

In the following issue of *Flashback*, Winter 2015, Eric Johnson, from Fayetteville and now living in Iowa, contributed an article about local Black history entitled "Before Spout Spring: African American voices, mobility, and public memory in the landscape of Fayetteville, Arkansas 1870-1900."

J.B. Hogan is a local historian and author who has published more than 280 stories and poems and 11 books. He is a frequent contributor to Flashback. *His article "Fayetteville and the Influenza Epidemic of 1918" (*Flashback, *Fall 2021) was awarded Best Community History in a County or Local Journal from the Arkansas Historical Association.*

Other highlights of the bibliography, which is also available on the WCHS website at https://washcohistoricalsociety.org/, include the following listing: Green, V.H., *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1940); "A national guide listing which tourist businesses would serve black customers. It included such businesses as hotels, restaurants, service stations and barber and beauty shops." *The Green Book* includes listings for Fayetteville.

Another entry of interest is Lankford, G. E., & Federal Writers' Project, *Bearing Witness: Memories of Arkansas Slavery: Narratives from the 1930s WPA Collections* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2003). Also included in the bibliography is a newspaper entry from out in Washington County: Robinson, D. (n.d.), "'Bob' Kidd Lake," *Northwest Arkansas Times* [Fayetteville]. This is the story "about a lake outside of Lincoln, Arkansas, and its renaming to Bob Kidd Lake. Bob was the man's actual given name, an ex-slave who had worked and owned land near the lake. From Fayetteville Public Library vertical file."

Because a number of years have elapsed since the original bibliography was put together, naturally there are new entries to be added. Among these are: Gordon D. Morgan, "Black Hillbillies of the Arkansas Ozarks," (Fayetteville: Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas, 1973); Michael Pierce, "The Nelson Hackett Project" (2022), website at: https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu/; David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the *Green Book*: A 'Knit Community,'" (*Flashback*, Volume 69, Number 3, Fall 2019); and Obed Lamy, "Once Forgotten," documentary, racial lynchings in 1856 Fayetteville, Arkansas (Community Remembrance Project, 2021).

As noted near the beginning of the document itself: "This bibliography is an ongoing work with updates expected as future projects are researched." When new sources are discovered or created, the bibliography will be updated as soon as practicable.

The WCHS Diverse Settlers Committee plans to issue an updated version of the Black Settlers Bibliography within the next two years.

Suggested updates to the Black Settlers Bibliography:

- Edmark, David, "Fayetteville in the *Green Book*: A 'Knit Community,'" *Flashback*, Volume 69, Number 3, Fall 2019, pp. 125-132.

This article covers the creation of the *Green Book* and Fayetteville listings within it over the years. *The Green Book*, lasting from 1936 to 1967, gave Black travelers information on where to stay and eat as they traversed the segregated nation. Several local residents are interviewed including Jessie Bryant, Emma Conley, and Carlos Carr.

- Elliott, RoAnne, and Valandra, "Re-presenting Aaron, Anthony, and Randall: Victims of Racial Terror Lynching in Washington County," *Flashback*, Volume 70, Number 4, Winter 2020, pp. 164-173.

This article details the lynchings of Aaron, Anthony, and Randall, three enslaved men who were killed by mob and state violence here in Fayetteville in 1856. The work of the Community Remembrance Project is also described. This project was an effort by a diverse group of local citizens to honor the three men and to bring their story into the public consciousness so that people today might know and understand Aaron, Anthony, and Randall and appreciate their humanity.

• Hogan, J. B., "Oaks Cemetery," *Encyclopedia of Arkansas* entry, 2021.

This entry details the history of Oaks Cemetery, Fayetteville's traditionally Black cemetery, including the sequence of land purchases over the years. It also lists current caretakers and some caretakers from the past, noted persons buried here, and the cemeteries inclusion on the Arkansas Register of Historic Places.

• Hogan, J. B., "Lynchings and Racial Terror in Pre-Civil War Washington County," *Flashback*, Volume 72, Number 1, Spring 2022, pp. 16-19.

Although not widely known, prior to the Civil War, Washington County had a number of lynchings and incidents of racial terror. This article documents a number of these incidents and provides sources for learning more about the topic.

• Huggard, Christopher J., and Moore, Jerry Harris, "Rock Van Winkle: Black Builder of Northwest Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Volume LXXX, Number 1, Spring 2021, pp. 1-37.

This tells the story of Aaron Henderson "Rock" Van Winkle and his remarkable life journey from enslavement to highly skilled, well-known and admired lumber man. Van Winkle's work and life "paralleled the rise of Northwest Arkansas from a frontier society" to a more modern one. Among his many accomplishments, in the mid-1870s, he provided the lumber and supervised its use in the building of "Old Main" on the University of Arkansas campus in Fayetteville.

• Lamy, Obed, "Once Forgotten," documentary, racial lynchings in 1856 Fayetteville, Arkansas, Community Remembrance Project, 2021.

This documentary covers the work of the Community Remembrance Project, a local, diverse coalition of people working to honor the memory of three young, enslaved men who were lynched in 1856. Charges against two of the young men had been dropped but they were lynched by a local mob. The third man was denied an appeal to his conviction and was summarily hanged, without further recourse, by the state.

• Jones, Kelly Houston, "Doubtless Guilt: Lynching and Slaves in Antebellum Arkansas," in, *Bullets and Fire: Lynching and Authority in Arkansas, 1840-1950*, Ed., Guy Lancaster; University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville, 2017, pp. 17-34.

This book consists of essays written by various authors and provides information about lynchings and racial terror in Arkansas during the peak years of 1840-1950. The article by Kelly Houston Jones (cited above) pro-

vides details on such cases in Northwest Arkansas. See pp. 22 and 27-28 for specific local material.

• Morgan, Gordon D., "Black Hillbillies of the Arkansas Ozarks," Fayetteville: Department of Sociology, University of Arkansas, 1973.

This tells the story of Black country people living in the northern Arkansas Ozarks. Morgan provides several highly informative charts showing living patterns in the area and compiles data from several counties in the north of Arkansas.

• Pierce, Michael, "UofA's Nelson Hackett Project: One Man's Struggle for Freedom," *Flashback*, Volume 71, Number 1, Spring 2021, pp. 41-47.

Pierce's article is a preliminary report on The Nelson Hackett Project, which he uploaded to the internet in 2022. (See below.)

• Pierce, Michael, "The Nelson Hackett Project," 2022, website, accessed at the following location: https://nelsonhackettproject.uark.edu/.

This website documents the life of enslaved man Nelson Hackett who escaped from Arkansas only to be finally found in Canada and extradited back to the United States in a case that became an international incident. According to the website: "The Nelson Hackett Project presents Hackett's story not only to document a single man's incredible struggle but also to explore how that one man activated a trans-Atlantic and biracial network of activists working to undermine the institution of slavery. Hackett's struggle demonstrates how the actions of enslaved individuals forced officials throughout the entire Atlantic world to confront the very thing that most of them wanted to ignore—the institution of chattel slavery."

• Wappel, Anthony J, "Milley: A Tribute to a Washington County Pauper," *Flashback*, Volume 64, Number 2, Summer 2014, pp. 51-58.

Using Washington County Records, Wappel presents the story of Milley, a woman of color; whether she was a freed woman or enslaved is not known although the latter is the most likely. Milley was a pauper and records from 1843 until her death in 1848 enumerate the families she lived with and also give the amount of money or goods that were provided by the county to the families for taking care of this aged woman.

Additional potential entries to the Black Settlers Bibliography:

Morgan, Marian B., and Preston, Izola, *The Arkansas African-American Quizbook*, Cane Hill, Arkansas: Arc Press, 1993.

Gatewood, Willard, Jr, editor, "Arkansas Negroes in the 1890s: Documents," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Volume XXXIII, Number 4, Winter, 1974, pp. 311-315.

Additional potential entries from *Flashback* to the Black Settlers Bibliography:

1954, November, p. 1 – "History up to Date," FHS integration and Black history in Washington County.

1956, January, p. 24 – "Courts and Crime," from Goodspeed's *History of Washington County*.

1958, October, p. 55 – "Twin Oaks Cemetery, Fayetteville," photo of elderly slaves.

1960, April, pp. 7-13 – Williams, O. E., "Trial of Three Slaves for the Murder of Doctor James Boone, trial transcripts of the accused: Aaron, Anthony, and Randall."

1965, July, pp. 23-24 – "Ridge Slaves Integrate Shiloh Church."

1966, May, p. 32 – Wright, Steve, and Carter, Deane G., "Negro Cemetery at Lincoln, Arkansas."

1966, October, p. 14 – "Free Slave," record of Peter Mankins, Sr. freeing Phillip (about 60), November 7, 1851, and William (55) July 14, 1851."

1968, November, pp. 25-27 – McConnell, Lloyd, "The Boones of Washington County," Boone family history, p. 25 (death of James Boone).

1969, November, pp. 27-29 – McColloch, Lacy P., Kensington, MD, "Ex-Slave Visits the Lacy Family." A 1904 visit of Fannie Hill to Lacy families in Cane Hill, Arkansas, and Santa Ana, California, p. 29: photos of Fannie Hill with different families.

1971, May, p. 8 – Wilson, Mrs. Lura, courtesy of, "Slave Woman's Silver Coin," the enslaved woman kept a silver coin on her person until her death.

1975, February, p. 39 – "Arrest of Runaway Negroes," death of Bob, enslaved man, July 2, 1859.

1980, February, pp. 5-8, 30-34 – Doolin, James, "Conditions of Slavery in Washington County." Covers topics of "Work," "Diet," "Politics," and "Free Men," among others; favorably compares slavery in Northwest Arkansas to that in the Arkansas Delta.

1987, November, pp. 1-6 – Blakely, Adeline, "Adeline Blakely," as told in her own words, memories of her time with the Hudgins and Blakely families; pp. 6-7; Sugg, Ann Wiggans, "Adeline Blakely, Remembered," Sugg's memories of Blakely's importance to family.

1988, May, pp. 37-38 – Read, Lessie Stringfellow, "A Tribute to Adeline Blakely," written around 1943.

1989, August, pp. 25-28 – Preston, Izola, Ed. D., "Lost Blacks of Washington County, 1891-1901," p. 25. Fayetteville and Cane Hill were the "two main centers of Black population in the county (p. 28); "gray" towns in the area, intent on "blotting out" their Black history and population.

1990, May, pp. 32-34 – Preston, Izola, "Sam Young: Former Slave of Fayetteville." Personal story and history of Sam Young and his wife Martha.

1999, August, pp. 24-38 – Morgan, Izola Preston, and Morgan, Gordon D., "Henry Harold Sutton: Northwest Arkansas' First Black Educator." Sutton was born in Fayetteville and was the first graduate of Henderson School.

2006, Autumn, pp. 159-166 – Gearhart, Gretchen, "The Murder of James Boone." Includes a summary of the crime and accounts of it.

2008, Summer, pp. 83-114 – Wappel, Anthony J., with Drummond, Judy, and Holcomb, Angela, "Slaves and Free Men of Color of Washington County, Arkansas, 1829-1865." Uses county records, compiles a list of transfer of claimed ownership for enslaved people; information includes: names, grantor (seller), grantee (buyer), record book and date.

B.F. Little: The Reconstruction Sheriff of Washington County

By Russell Gayer

Benjamin Franklin Little, the fifth of 12 children, was born in Bedford County, Tennessee, on September 13, 1839, the son of John and Margaret (Johnson) Little. The family moved to Washington County, Arkansas, in 1851 and began farming in West Fork, just south of Fayetteville.[1]

In February 1861, a few months before the Civil War broke out, the citizens of Washington County were asked to vote for or against a state convention that would consider secession. Unionist sentiment rang strong in the county at that time, and the proposal to secede was rejected by almost a three-to-one margin. At the May statewide convention on the issue of secession, delegates from Washington County voted to remain loyal to the Union. A second convention was held in June, after the firing on Fort Sumter, and the delegates reversed their votes, leaving Isaac Murphy of Madison County alone in opposition to secession. During the war, Washington County and the surrounding area fielded roughly 500 to 800 men for the Union force and approximately 2,000 for the Confederacy.[2]

Benjamin Franklin Little was among those who chose to support the Union. His Army record with the War Department shows the following: B.F. Little, age 22 years, height 5'9", complexion fair, hazel eyes, dark hair, born in Bedford County, Tennessee, occupation farmer, enlisted on June 23, 1862, at Washington County, mustered into service July 3, 1862, by

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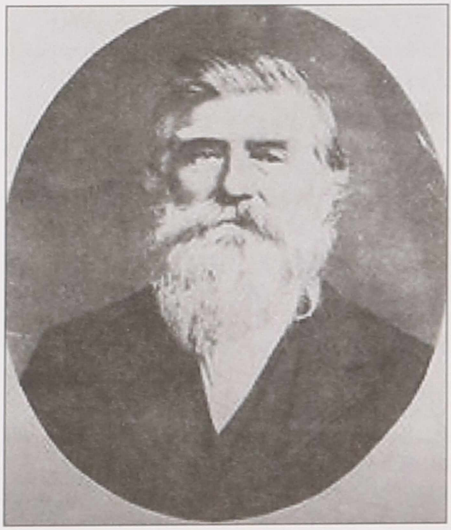
Russell Gayer is a 4th generation Ozark native, residing on the original family homestead near Goshen, Arkansas. He is the author of The Perils of Heavy Thinking *and* One Idiot Short of a Village, *and also enjoys writing non-fiction articles on local history. To learn more about Russell visit his website at www.russellgayer.com.*



Photograph of Benjamin Franklin Little, first Republican sheriff of Washington County, serving 1868-1872. Image from Washington County website on Sheriffs of Washington County. See https://www.washingtoncountyar.gov/government/departments-f-z/sheriff/sheriffs-of-washington-county/sheriffs-1866-1908

Lt. Col. Mills at Springfield, Missouri. The Company Muster Roll of January/February 1863 shows him to be on attached duty with a forage train. In June of 1864, he was promoted to sergeant. In August of the same year, he is listed as sick in camp. The following March, he is on detached duty with a train to Fort Smith, Arkansas. According to the August 1865 Muster Rolls, Little was last paid on February 28, 1865.[3]

The years following the Civil War left the citizens of Washington County in ruin and abject poverty. Men returned from the war to find their fields unplanted, orchards destroyed, and fences and barns razed for firewood. Many of the public buildings, businesses, and schools had been burned. Worse yet, all livestock from chicken to oxen, had been confiscated, stolen, or eaten.

Cattle rustlers, whiskey runners, and border bandits continued to terrorize the county, robbing, and sometimes murdering, local citizens. The western side of the county bordered Indian Territory, making it easy for these marauders to escape to the safety of a lawless region.

The Fourteenth Amendment, passed in June of 1866 and ratified in July 1868, had a significant impact on Washington County by barring former Confederates from holding office. A second piece of legislation, the Reconstruction Act of 1867, divided former Confederate states into five military districts and placed them under the command of former Union generals.[4]

In January 1866, Maj. Gen. Alvan Cullem Gillem was assigned command of the Fourth Military District, headquartered in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and composed of the Federal occupation forces in Mississippi and Arkansas.[5] Under Section 3 of the Reconstruction Act, it was the duty of these officers to protect the rights of all citizens, their person, and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals.[6]

In 1868, Gillem appointed Benjamin Franklin Little, former sergeant of Company D, 1st Arkansas Cavalry (Union) as sheriff of Washington County, Arkansas. Both Gillem and Little had been born in Tennessee.

Whether this influenced the major general's decision is not known.[7]

During his first year as sheriff, B.F. Little had to deal with a deadly feud that broke out in the western part of the county between the Shannon and Fisher families.[8]

The trouble started in mid-December when 18-year-old Maurice K. Shannon lost his father's horse and saddle in a card game at one of Evansville's taverns. The town hugged the border between Arkansas and Indian Territory in the extreme southwest corner of Washington County. Maj. Jarrett Fisher, a seasoned gambler, won the horse.[9]

A week later, Shannon met with Fisher to discuss payment for his debt. While they were parleying, Shannon's older brother, Finis, stepped through the tavern door and thought he saw Maj. Fisher draw a gun. Quick to defend his brother, Finis fired and shot Fisher through the head, killing him instantly.[10]

Both the township's justice of the peace and a higher court in Fayetteville found Finis Shannon's actions to be justifiable. He was set free. Upon hearing the verdict, Maj. Fisher's brother, John, became outraged and vowed revenge.[11]

In January 1869, John Fisher spotted and followed Dr. J.C. McKinney, the father-in-law of Finis Shannon, into an Evansville store. Fisher then shot McKinney through the heart.[12]

Sheriff B.F. Little, along with the Shannons and a posse of 30 men, attempted to capture Fisher. A gun battle ensued with the Fisher gang taking refuge in John Fisher's sister's house while the sheriff and posse retreated to a nearby stable. Occasional shots were fired back and forth all day. When night came, Fisher and his men slipped out and escaped into Indian Territory.[13]

A short time later, Sheriff Little took a posse to Texas in search of the outlaws, and upon returning, reported that Fisher was dead. Other accounts however, listed him as being seen later in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), Missouri, and Texas.[14]

Over the course of one year, seven men died in the feud, and it was rumored that famed outlaw Frank James was among those in the Fisher gang.[15]

Circuit Court records from 1867 to 1872 provide further insight into Sheriff Little's involvement in Washington County affairs.[16]

In August 1867, Judge William Storey of the 8th Judicial Court held court in Washington County. Jacob Yoes resigned as sheriff, and B.F. Little succeeded him. This calls into question whether Little had already accepted the position prior to being formally appointed by Gen. Gillem.[17]

A good number of men were summoned for jury duty that term. Many failed to report, including several prominent men well-known within the county who would later have streets, parks, and communities named after them.[18] The court charged several with contempt for failure to report and ordered Sheriff Little to bring them in. The penalty for

failure to report for jury duty was a $5 fine and a lecture from the judge.[19]

The docket included cases involving murder, theft, and a variety of other charges. Samuel West received a *nolle prosequi*, a dismissal of charges by the prosecution, on a murder. Benjamin Woodruff was also freed on a similar charge. Thomas Bigby was fined $150 (equivalent to $2,035 today) for an unspecified high misdemeanor.[20]

Judge Elijah D. Hamm was on the bench in September 1868. He was assisted by Sheriff B.F. Little. Eighteen men were empaneled as a jury and told to inquire into the violations of the law in the county.[21]

Samuel E. Kenner received a *nolle prosequi* for an undefined crime as did William Vance. John Wilhite was charged with theft, and Lafayette Curtis and A.J. McRoy with contempt. James Buxey was acquitted for an unspecified misdemeanor.[22]

In January 1869, Judge Hamm returned to the bench and seated 20 men as grand jurors, with John W. Benbrook as foreman.[23] Two months later, on March 25, 1869, the judge charged Sheriff B.F. Little with contempt for failing to maintain order in the courtroom and fined him $10. The court records do not reveal what actions, or lack thereof, on Little's part led to the contempt charge.[24]

That same year, Joseph Runnell and Christopher Cox were arrested on murder charges. Judge Hamm set bond at $2,000 for Runnell and $5,000 for Cox. This was an extraordinary amount of money in those days, and personal property and real estate were often used in lieu of cash. James M. Sanders furnished bond for Reynolds, and Cox gave Henderson Vaughan, Earnest Beach, and Edward Mull as sureties.[25]

Jury selection for these cases began the last Monday in August. Many of those subpoenaed as witnesses lived in the Sons Chapel-Habberton area. The trial lasted several days with the jury finding Cox not guilty. Reynolds received a *nolle prosequi* and was also released and told to "go hence."[26]

In March 1871, George Southerland was convicted of grand larceny and sentenced to five years hard labor at the state penitentiary. Sheriff Little was given a copy of the verdict, embossed with the county seal, and told to escort Southerland to the penitentiary.[27]

Other duties that fell on Sheriff Little's shoulders included notifying the public of meetings regarding taxes, which he was to collect and deliver to the county tax collector. In July 1870, Little contracted with a printer, Samuel Bard, to print posters for meetings and 2,450 tax receipts.[28]

Another major event that occurred during the four years B.F. Little served as sheriff of Washington County was the construction of a new courthouse. The previous courthouse, built in 1854, had been burned during the Civil War. Washington County held court in the upstairs part of James E. Trott's store until the new building was completed in 1869.[29]

This was the final courthouse constructed in the center of the Fayetteville square. It was built by Alexander Hendry in 1868 and 1869 for $22,500. The county continued to use it until 1905 when it moved offic-

The Washington County Courthouse in 1869. Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Washington County Historical Society Collection (S-82-192).

es to a larger facility on College Avenue directly across the road from the east end of Center Street to what is now the historic Washington County Courthouse.[30]

On November 13, 1870, B.F. Little married Elizabeth Caroline Woolsey. They had six children, two of whom—Mary Caroline "Babe" (1872-1874) and Julius Caesar (1876-1877)—died as infants. Both babies are buried in the Baptist Ford Cemetery between Greenland and West Fork.[31]

Their other children were: John William "Bill" (1873-circa 1930) who married Josie Mhoon, moved to Whittier, California, and died there; Emily (1878-1957) who married William Ryder Sweetser and is buried at Evergreen Cemetery in Fayetteville; Lillie Dell "Liss" (1880-1905), who married Dr. Charles E. Swift and is buried at the Goshen Cemetery; and Minnie Bell (1883-1955), who married Felix A. Oliphant, then Henry M. "Buck" Tisdale, and is also buried at the Goshen Cemetery.[32]

In 1872, B.F. Little resigned as sheriff of Washington County, citing health reasons. His war records show that while on duty with the Union Army at Springfield, Missouri, he was disabled by chronic diarrhea. Dysentery was a common ailment among soldiers on both sides during the Civil War with thousands of deaths occurring from it. This illness plagued him for the remainder of his life.[33]

After retiring from public service, Little moved to the community of Goshen where he owned a farm of 222 acres. In 1895, the following was listed as his personal property for taxation in Goshen Township: livestock valued at $300, other personal items including a carriage, a gold watch, a piano, and cash valued at $535—bringing the total net worth to $835.[34]

When Benjamin Franklin Little died in February 1909, the following obituary ran in the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, "Ben F. Little died at his home near Goshen this morning of a complication of ailments. He was 68 years of age and was extensively acquainted, having been sheriff of the county after the war. The burial will take place tomorrow."[35]

He is buried alongside his wife in the Goshen Cemetery.[36]

Endnotes follow on page 177.

Washington County Historical Society

announces

The 14th Annual Competition for Articles on History of Washington County

The Washington County Historical Society announces the 14th annual competition for two awards for articles about the history of Washington County. Each award carries an honorarium of $250. The two categories of awards are:

* The Walter J. Lemke Prize for best article on Washington County history, with preference given to subjects outside Fayetteville;
* The Lessie Stringfellow Read Prize for best article on Washington County history, with a focus on Fayetteville.

Topics can address any aspect of county history, including archeology, lives of individuals, architecture, arts and crafts, or records of institutions, and can be set in any time period. All historians – both professional and amateur – are invited to submit articles. Winners will be recognized at the society's annual meeting in October.

Deadline for submissions is June 30, 2023.

Judging is based on contributions to the expansion of the county's history; originality of the subject; and use of primary and secondary sources. Articles must be original material, and not previously published.

Submissions must be typed, and preferably include endnotes. Length – not including endnotes – can range from 2,500 words to 5,000 words. The title page should be headed: "WCHS Prize," followed by the manuscript full title, and the author's name, mailing address, telephone number, and email.

Entries become the property of the Washington County Historical Society and will not be returned. All submissions will be considered for publication in the WCHS journal *Flashback*. WCHS reserves the right to award one or no prizes. Back issues of *Flashback* are available at the Fayetteville Public Library.

Submit manuscripts by June 30, 2023, by mail or email:

* By mail: Patsy Watkins, WCHS Prize, Washington County Historical Society, 118 E. Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701.
* Email: Patsy Watkins at pwatkins@uark.edu

For questions, contact Watkins at pwatkins@uark.edu.

Endnotes

[1]*Washington County History* (Springdale, Arkansas: Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, 1989), p. 1186.
[2]https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/washington-county-813/, accessed May 27, 2022.
[3]*Washington County History*, p. 1186.
[4]https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/JointCommitteeonReconstruction.htm, accessed April 24, 2022.
[5]"Alvan Cullem Gillem," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alvan_Cullem_Gillem, accessed May 4, 2022.
[6]"Primary Source: Military Reconstruction Act," Anchor: A North Carolina History Online Resource," https://www.ncpedia.org/anchor/military-reconstruction, accessed April 24, 2022.
[7]"Sheriffs 1866-1908," Washington County, Arkansas. https://www.washingtoncountyar.gov/government/departments-f-z/sheriff/sheriffs-of-washington-county/sheriffs-1866-1908, accessed July 6, 2022.
[8]*Goodspeed's History of Benton, Washington, Carroll, Madison, Crawford, Franklin and Sebastian Counties, Arkansas* (Chicago, Illinois: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1889), p. 192.
[9]Ibid p. 192.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid.
[12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid, pp. 193-194.
[14]Ibid, p. 194.
[15]Ibid, p. 193.
[16]Lloyd McConnell, *The Judge and The Jury*, (Fayetteville, Arkansas: Washington County Historical Society, 1986), p. 24.
[17]Ibid, p. 24.
[18]Ibid. Names of those not appearing for jury duty: Andrew Gregg, Robert J. West, William Wilson, John Van Hoose, John Morrow, and Neil G. Rutherford.
[19]Ibid.
[20]Ibid.
[21]Ibid, p. 25.
[22]Ibid, p. 25.
[23]Ibid, p. 26.
[24]*Washington County Circuit Court Archives, Book J*, p. 82.
[25]*The Judge and The Jury*, p. 26.
[26]*Washington County Circuit Court Archives, Book J*, pp. 87, 91-92.
[27]B.F. Little Papers, MC 1077, University of Arkansas Libraries, Special Collections.
[28]Receipt from printer, B.F. Little Papers, University of Arkansas Libraries, Special Collections.
[29]Anthony J. Wappel with J.B. Hogan, *The Square Book: An Illustrated History of the Fayetteville Square*, (Fayetteville, Arkansas: Anthony J. Wappel, 2017), p. 215.
[30]Ibid, p. 215.
[31]*Washington County History*, p. 1186.
[32]Ibid.
[33]Ibid.
[34]Ibid.
[35]*Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, Monday, February 22, 1909.
[36]Goshen Cemetery Association, Russell Gayer, President, interview, April 1, 2022.

Odell, Arkansas . . . a Place Lost to Time

By Denele Campbell

Located in the extreme southwest corner of Washington County, Odell no longer exists as more than a place name. For a time in the 19th century, this place was a tiny but important commercial center in that vicinity. School No. 69 was located here as well as a blacksmith shop, general store, and post office, all along a roadway long established across the ridges and valleys in this lingering western edge of the Boston Mountains. Both Confederate and Union troops used this road, now County Road 295, as an alternative to the

A portion of an 1898 U.S. Department of the Interior Geological Survey map showing the Arkansas-Oklahoma (Indian Territory) Winslow Quadrangle. Odell was located in the vicinity of Stop, just below the Washington/Crawford county line. Cove Creek cuts diagonally across the right-hand third of the map.

Denele Campbell's articles appear frequently in Flashback. *Her latest book,* The Music Men of Turn-of-the-Century Fayetteville *was published October 1, 2022. Campbell's books can be found online at https://www.amazon.com/Denele-Campbell/e/B000APWGC0. [Note: the "0"s are zeros, not capital "o"s.]*

more heavily traveled routes later to become Highway 59 or the convenient Cove Creek Road which rose from the depths of Crawford County and led directly to Prairie Grove.

Like many early post offices in the rugged wilds of the Ozarks, the actual location of mail service moved from place to place within a certain vicinity, depending on who wanted the responsibility. The post office for this community was first known as Stop and was located just south of the Washington County line in Crawford County (see map, page 178). The 1898 Geological Survey Map of the Winslow Quadrangle shows Stop at the junction of two roads coming down from the north and thereafter tracking south as one road which follows the ridgeline about one mile south to Liberty Hill and continues south nine miles or so to Natural Dam, hence south to Cedarville where it joins with the Old Wire Road.

It is not known when Stop was established, but according to Burlene Hilton's 1968 article in *Flashback*, "Odell is actually made up of an area extending from the old Dobbs cemetery on the north to the Liberty Hill cemetery to the south.... Many of the old roads are still outlined by the rock fences built by pioneers of the little village..."

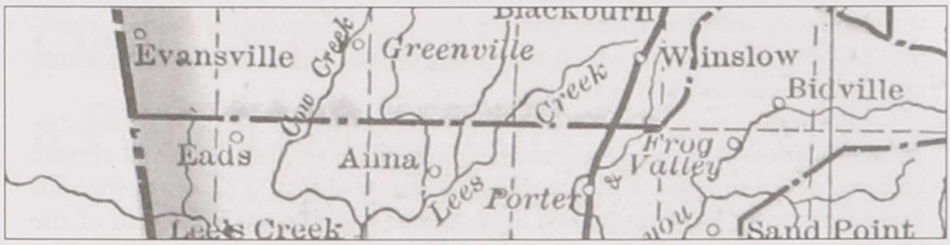
The first documentation of a post office in the area was named the Stop post office, first established by Nathan then William W. Leach, sons of Thomas Leach. Nathan was postmaster at Stop in 1884 and Nathan in 1887. The brothers reportedly put in a general store at the Stop location. Various reasons for the name Stop were given—some said because folks had to stop there for the mail, and another said because the road stopped there.[1] But the road did not stop there.

An 1889 map of Crawford County (see page 180; Map 1) shows a place named Eads in the location of Stop. Other sources confirm a place named Eads, but no other information has been found.

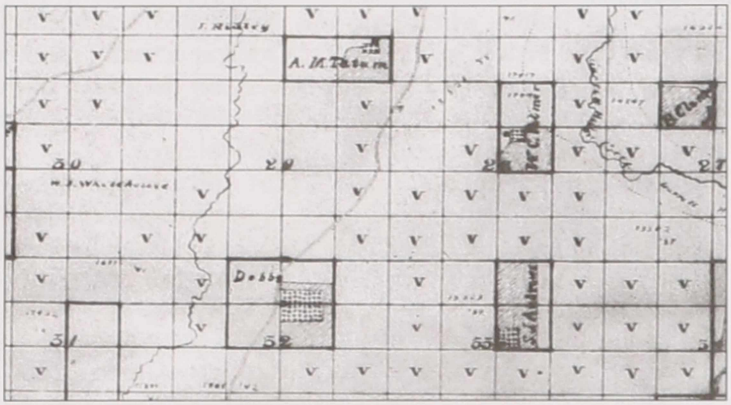
The original deed for the property that became the final site of Odell was granted to Archibald B. Dobbs by the federal government in 1860, a total of 160 acres.[2] Present-day County Road 3 traveling east out of Evansville splits within the second mile into Dobbs Mountain Road (CR 1) turning south and Hale Mountain Road, which continues north as CR 3 toward Morrow. Dobbs Mountain Road connects to Odell with CR 409, a little east-west cut connecting to CR 295, also known as Antioch Road. This suggests that that the road through Dobbs' land at Odell, visible on this undated map (page 180; Map 2), is older than Dobbs Mountain Road.

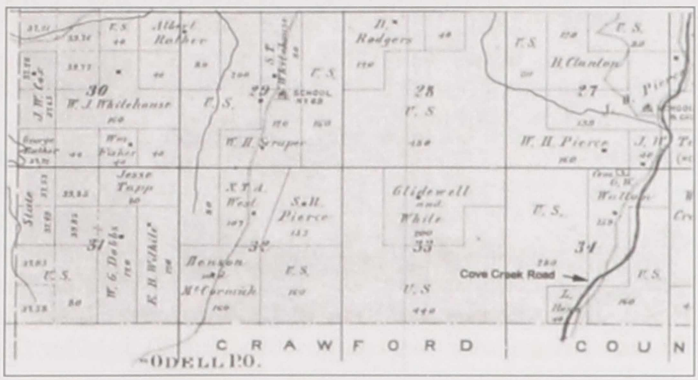
In the *1908 Plat Book of Washington County* (page 180, Map 3), the former Stop/Eads location is named Odell, and is shown in Section 6, Township 12N, Range 32W, in Crawford County, just south of the Washington County line. According to the book *Washington County Postmasters and Post Offices 1829-1976*, the Odell post office was moved to Washington County in 1930. There are reasons to question the date of this move.

In 1894, Noah Ira Addison West purchased 107 acres in the



Map 1: Above. Portion of a map ca. 1889 showing the location of Eads, "in the location of Stop," just below the Washington/Crawford county line. (www.mygenealoPorgyhound.com/maps/arkansas-maps/ar-crawford-county-arkansas-1889-map.html#)
Map 2: Below. Location of Dobbs' land in an undated map. (http://www.historicmapworks.com/Map/US/176327/Township+13+N++Range+32+W/Washington+County+1894/Arkansas/).





Map 3: *1908 Plat Book of Washington County*, Township 13, Range 32 West. Washington County Archives. "Odell P.O." is indicated to be south of the Washington County line, into Crawford County.

Washington County location where Odell was subsequently located.[3] Deeded by Joseph and Abigail Shumate, the property sat along either side of the roadway. It appears as though Shumate purchased the land from Dobbs and a month later sold it to West, possibly to gain $50.

Whatever the terms of Noah West's acquisition of the property in 1894, a photograph of Noah's family at Odell in 1911 shows the front

Sign reads, "Groceries and Hrdw Store"; also postal star. The Pitts family, 1911. Standing, from left: Charles "Bill" Pitts, wife Nora West Pitts, firstborn Noah Pitts in chair; West daughters Eva and Lucy; Noah West; more West daughters Fanny West Carte and Edith Tapp, and husband Jesse Tapp. Seated in front of Noah West are his wife Amanda Dipboye West and granddaughter Pearl Carte. In front of Jesse Tapp are twins Irvin and Irby Tapp, and baby. Fred Carte (seated), holds Ray and Grover Carte. Photo courtesy Floyd Pitts family.

of Noah's store. Signage barely legible at the top says "Groceries and Hrdw Store." The star designated a postal "star" route, meaning this was a location where area residents could receive and send mail. So at least by 1911, if not earlier after West's arrival in Odell in 1894, the Odell post office was in Washington County. County records state that the post office at Odell opened in 1904 and operated until 1955.

Forge at Odell, ca. 1909. From left, Unknown man, Charles McDonald Pitts, and his son "Bill" Pitts. Courtesy Floyd Pitts Family.

The Charles M. Pitts family bought land at Odell in 1902 but had moved across the state line to Stilwell, Oklahoma, by 1915. A blacksmith shop run by Charles McDonald Pitts and his son Bill Pitts served neighbors and travelers. This is likely a continuation of blacksmithing here; J. F. Dobbs was known to operate a forge at Odell as early as the 1870s.

School No. 69 near Odell, known also as Shady Grove, opened in 1884 and continued until consolidation with Lincoln schools in 1955. Amanda Dipboye West's brothers taught school here, Joseph and Raymond Dipboye.[4] As noted in Ms. Hilton's article, "Joseph was a lawyer and Arkansas representative in 1913-1915."[5]

Subsequently, with Noah West's departure before 1930, ownership of the Odell store and post office property passes through other owners not found in deed records until Thomas Clay Cuzick. He ran the general

store and was postmaster at Odell in the 1930s, then Ruthus and Frank Cuzick (son and grandson of Thomas) took over.

Other family names in the area were Yancy, Wilhite and Dobbs. Descendants of the original owner Archibald Dobbs remained in the vicinity of Odell. A. L. Dobbs was a carpenter who made burial caskets for many who died in the area. As mentioned, J. F. Dobbs was farmer and village blacksmith and his sons continued the smithing and later garage trade for years.

Today Odell is merely a name on a map. Google Maps shows the improved Antioch Road running mostly parallel to the old dirt road. Farmland and steep wooded slopes still compete in the landscape where Evansville Creek rises nearby to flow west then north before joining Baron Creek near Highway 59 at the Oklahoma line. The area remains rough and distant from any town of size, 33 miles from the county seat at Fayetteville.

Endnotes

[1]https://www.historicwashingtoncounty.org/odell.html
[2]Deed Records 1060-892 and 1065-646
[3]Deed Record 69-532, 533, & 534 shows Joseph and Abigail Shumate purchased the property on October 12, 1894, from Archibald Dobbs with a mortgage of $400. A month later, November 15, 1894, the Shumates sold the property to Noah West for $450 (Deed Record 107-71, 72).
[4]"Dipboye" is a corruption of DuBois.
[5]As noted by Burlene Hilton in her *Flashback* article about Odell, most of her information came from Fanny West Carte.

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